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ABSTRACT

The material in this curriculum guide for the high school level is intended as the conclusion of "Voices of Protest," a unit which studies the Industrial Revolution in the United States through the eyes of the contemporary protest groups such as farmers, laborers, Muckrakers, etc., but notably omits the American Negro. This last segment of the unit attempts to rectify this omission by a study of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, and by suggesting supplementary materials for the preceding sections. Specific objectives of this segment are to: 1) introduce ranking Negro leaders in the late 19th and early 20th century protest movements, 2) increase awareness of racial discrimination, 3) develop habits of critical thinking and inquiry, 4) contrast methods of the two men in seeking solutions to Negro problems, and 5) evaluate the men as leaders. Major concepts and points are outlined, with suggested readings for each, and general questions covering the unit appear at the end. SO 000 351 and SO 000 353 are related. (JLB)

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EPDA History Institute
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Curriculum Workshop

V United States History--Chronological Integration of the Black Experience

VOICES OF PROTEST: W.E.B. DUBOIS AND BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

By

Harry W. Barnes

SP 000 354

This curricular unit was developed as a part of the work in the EPDA History Institute, "The Black Experience. A Comparative Study: The United States and Latin America," held at Smith College from June 23 to August 8, 1969. It is a first draft and has as yet not undergone classroom trial.

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I. Introduction

The usual high school American History course deals with the period from 1877 to 1920 as a time of rapid industrialization accompanied by (or dependent upon) the exploitation by the industrialists of the other groups involved in the production process. These exploited groups - laborers, farmers, immigrants, consumers and government - eventually brought themselves to various forms of protest.

This material is intended as the conclusion or climax of a unit entitled, Voices of Protest, which studies the Industrial Revolution of the United States through the eyes of the protest groups reacting to the poor conditions resulting from industrialization. The Voices of Protest covered prior to this segment of the unit have been:

I. Farmers - Peter Cooper, James B. Weaver, Ignatius Donnelly, Tom Watson, William Jennings Bryan.

II. Laborers - Uriah Stephens, Terrence Powderly, Samuel Gompers, Eugene Debs, John Peter Altgeld, and the I.W.W.

III. Intellectuals - Henry George, Henry D. Lloyd, William Graham Sumner, Edward Bellamy.

IV. Socialists - Edward Bellamy, Eugene Debs, Daniel DeLeon, Upton Sinclair.

V. "Muckrakers" - Upton Sinclair, Frank Norris, Lincoln Steffens.

VI. Progressives - Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Woodrow Wilson, George Norris, Robert M. LaFollette.

VII. Anti-Imperialists - William Jennings Bryan, George Hoar, George Boutwell, Charles F. Adams.

This fairly traditional treatment of exploitation and protest can be taught from any standard high school text with supplementary materials used to treat the personalities and ideas of the protesters. The standard high school text book leaves out or at best glosses over the most exploited group, the American Negroes. This ommission or superficial treatment of the exploitation of ten million Black Americans is a significant substantiation of the charge that American History, as presently taught, is White History.

In a small effort to "tell it like it is", the concluding segment of the Voices of Protest Unit will be:

VIII. Negroes - Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois.

* * * *

A Ranking of Protest Groups

1.	Progressives	WHITE	The Rankings from one to six are open to challenge
2.	Intellectuals		
3.	Farmers		
4.	Muckrakers		
5.	Laborers		
6.	Socialists		
	MUDSILL		
7.	Negroes	BLACK	Unchallengeable

SUGGESTED MATERIAL TO SUPPLEMENT UNITS I TO VII

While it is not the purpose here to prepare materials for the complete unit on Voices of Protest, some suggestions are here offered in an effort to begin a better inclusion of Negro Americans within each protest movement or to show how Negroes have been excluded from these protest movements or from the history of these movements. Perhaps a future institute participant, or a teacher using this unit, can use the guidelines below in preparing a more complete treatment.

Unit I - Farm Protest Movements

In dealing with the farm protesters differences between individual leaders on the problems of Negroes must be shown. The famous Kansas Populist, Mary Ellen Lease, could say in 1895 that "the American (White) race has arisen to the moral and intellectual supremacy of the world until now this favored race is fitted for the stewardship of the Earth and emancipation from manual labor". In the same year Georgis Populist Tom Watson could censure the South Carolina Tillmanites for their efforts to disfranchise the Negro. Not only were there differences between individual Populist leaders, but the leaders themselves could change as did Tom Watson, becoming a leading racist editor and politician after the turn of the century.

The part played by the Colored Farmers Alliance in Populist politics should also be studied. Of the protest groups studied, the Populists seem to have had more concern for Negro problems than most. A significant question might be asked: to what extent did the inclusion of Negroes contribute to the defeat of the Populist Party?

Suggested Sources:

Meier, August and Rudwick, Elliot. The Making of Black America. New York: Atheneum, 1969. (See the essay by Herbert Shapiro, "The Populists and the Negro.")

Goode, Kenneth G. From Africa to the United States and Then... Glenview: Scott, Foresman Co., 1969.

Woodward, C. Vann. The Origins of the New South. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1951.

Hofstadter, Richard. The Age of Reform. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.

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Unit II - Labor Unions

In general the movement to unionize laborers after the Civil War did not include the Negro worker. A separate Colored National Labor union was unsuccessful. The Knights of Labor wanted to include Negroes ~~among~~ in the union of both skilled and unskilled workers, but left the decisions to local chapters, thus, in effect, excluding Negro workers. Some material regarding the position of the American Federation of Labor is included in the content portion of this unit. Generally the A.F. of L. barred Negroes from entering their craft unions. The Negro, as was suggested by Booker T. Washington, then acted as a scab during periods of strikes, further alienating union workers.

Suggested Sources:

Goode, Kenneth, Op. cit.

Jacobson, Julius (Ed). The Negro in the American Labor Movement

Unit III - Intellectuals

The intellectual leaders of the 1870-1920 period probably cannot be categorized on the questions involving Negroes. Each person must be studied individually and on different issues. Many of these leaders joined in the movement protesting against imperialism, but few seem to have opposed this colonization for reasons of race; the Adamses and William James would fall into this group. However, one biographer of Charles F. Adams finds him describing "Nigs" as docile, cheerful, and lacking in initiative. When the issue was the formation of a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, John Dewey and Charles Eliot Russell added their signatures to those of Jane Addams, Lincoln Steffens and W. E. B. DuBois. DuBois was one of several Negro intellectuals who were seldom effective with either Blacks or Whites.

Suggested Sources:

In this case it might be best to study biographical data regarding particular individuals.

Unit IV - Socialists

As a party the Socialists did nothing to promote rights for Negroes, although they did solicit Negro members. The party seems to have considered Negroes as just one element of the working class.

An incomplete check of biographical materials on Eugene Debs, Upton Sinclair and Edward Bellamy does not demonstrate any effort on their parts to promote Negro reforms. On the other hand it will be noted later in this paper that W. E. B. DuBois was interested in the Socialist Party movement.

Suggested Sources:

Goode, Op.Cit., pages 97-99.

Unit V -"Muckrakers"

The "muckrakers" seem always to interest the high school student. The horrible travails of Jurgis in Upton Sinclair's Jungle and the "bitter cry" of John Spargo's child workers seem like fiction to today's suburban white student. It is in this area that the standard high school textbook has committed a serious ommission. There were "muckrakers" who wrote of the plight of the American Negro. Ray Stannard Baker is always listed as a journalist who described abusive railroad practices, but his "Following the Color Line" book and series for McClure's Magazine is never mentioned. Richard Barry in Cosmopolitan for March, 1907 stated that the trusts in the South had "put in force a system of economic peonage which is actually slavery". Thomas Nelson Page also wrote articles on the Negro in the South for McClures. Certainly DuBois and Monroe Trotter could be classified as "muckrakers", but for their color.

C. C. Regier in The Era of the Muckrakers states that although the "muckrakers" wrote on the industrial status of the Negro, "on the whole the public failed to become greatly excited about the problem of the Negro in industry, but they did develop considerable interest in the question of the Chinese". This statement might move students to ask "why?". Although the public did not become too arroused about the problems of lynchings, riots, and disfranchisement, there was enough interest to cause a group of Blacks and Whites to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Suggested Sources:

Filler, Louis. Crusaders for American Liberalism. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1939. Pages 274-284.

Regier, C. C. The Era of the Muckrakers. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932.

Baker, Ray Stannard. Following the Color Line. New York: Harper and Row, 1908. (Also in Torchback Edition)

Unit VI - Progressives

C. Vann Woodward has called Progressivism in the South, "progressivism for white men only". The activities of Woodrow Wilson and his Secretary of War, Josephus Daniels, both native southerners, support this view. Daniels could defend the "color line" while attacking political corruption and the activities of the trusts. Wilson while calling for progressive banking and anti-trust legislation was endorsing D. W. Griffith's, "Birth of a Nation" film and allowing segregation in the United States armed forces. Theodore Roosevelt while inviting Booker T. Washington to the White House and acting upon his political suggestions, never called for anti-lynching or anti-disfranchisement laws. Neither Senator George Norris nor Senator Robert LaFollette seem to have been active in promoting Negro rights. Norris, independent, as always, spoke against the anti-lynching bill as unconstitutional and tending toward another Civil War. However, Norris, for many years was a leader in the fight to outlaw poll taxes.

When teaching the Progressive Era, it seems important to point out that the problems of disfranchisement, segregation, unemployment, riots, and lynching were faced by Negroes in the United States in the twentieth century. Few White progressives addressed themselves to these problems. However, two organizations were formed to seek some redress of these grievances, the N.A.A.C.P. (1909) and the Urban League (1911). White histories often omit these significant reform organizations and their leaders.

Suggested Sources:

Filler, Louis. Op. Cit.

Resek, Charles. The Progressives. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1967.

Norris, George. Fighting Liberal, New York:
The Macmillan Company, 1945.

Goode, Kenneth. Op. Cit., pages 111-116.

Unit VII - The Anti-Imperialists

While a majority of Americans were supporting the ideas of imperialists like Teddy Roosevelt and Alfred Beveridge, including the "White Man's Burden", a small group of intellectuals and political leaders kept up a dialogue of opposition. In discussing the Anti-Imperialists two questions are important for Black History: (1) How important was race in the argument of the Anti-Imperialists? and (2) What position did the Negro leadership take on the imperialism issue?

The Anti-Imperialists were a "mixed bag", including Carl Schurz, Grover Cleveland, Ben Tillman, John Sherman, William James, George Boutwell and George Hoar. Most of these men, excepting Hoar, accepted the theory of Negro inferiority, but instead of undertaking the "burden" felt that the Anglo-Saxons should keep to themselves and not further complicate our own race problems.

Finley Peter Dunne's "Mr. Dooley" aptly describes the situation

> We say to thim: "Naygurs", we say, "poor, dissolute, uncovered wretches," says we, "whin the' crool hand iv Spain forged manicles f'r ye'er limbs, as Hogan says, who was it crossed th' say an' sthruck off th' comealongs? We did, -- by dad, we did. An' now, ye miserable, childish-minded apes, we propose f'r to larn ye th' uses iv liberty. In ivry city in this unfair land we will erect schoolhouses an' packin' houses an' houses iv correction; an' we'll larn ye our language, because 'tis aisier to larn ye ours than to larn oursilves yours. An' we'll give ye clothes, if ye pay f'r thim; an', if ye don't, ye can go without."

Discovering the position of the Negro on the question of imperialism is difficult. The only Negro leaders who seem to have opposed imperialism were Kelly Miller, Lewis Douglass (son of the abolitionist), and Congressman George White. Booker T. Washington seems to have favored colonization. Historian Louis Harlan points out

that Tuskegee graduates were encouraged to work in Africa for the European governments and businesses which were colonizing there and needed black technological experts. DuBois seems to have taken no stand against imperialism. His activities for unifying Africans begin after World War Two.

Suggested Sources:

Beisner, Robert L. Twelve Against Empire. New York; McGraw-Hill, 1968.

Boutwell, George S. The Crisis of the Republic. Boston: Dana-Estes and Company, 1900.

Goode, Kenneth. Op. Cit., Pages 107-110.

Harlan, Louis; "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden" American Historical Review, LXXI, January, 1966, Pages 441-467.

II. Purpose

A. General Objectives

1. To demonstrate to American History students through the acceptance of Booker T. Washington and the rejection of W. E. B. DuBois, by both their white contemporaries and later white historians, that American History and culture has been primarily white history and culture.

2. To inform students that there has been a Black history and culture in the United States and that a part of the Negro-American culture has been a dualism, which may be seen particularly through studying Booker T. Washington.

B. Specific objectives

1. To introduce students of American History to two Negro leaders who must be ranked alongside Samuel Gompers, Eugene Debs, George Norris and the other leaders of protest movements in the United States during the late 19th and early twentieth centuries.

2. To better appreciate that Negroes in the United States have been discriminated against by their fellow Americans and by historians.

3. To develop habits of critical thinking and questioning in students as they read history.

4. To compare the methods of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois in seeking solutions for the problems of American Negroes.

5. To evaluate Washington and DuBois as leaders in their own time and in terms of today's civil rights situation.

III. Content

A. What was the situation which confronted the American Negro following Reconstruction (1877 to 1920)?

1. The Negro had been transformed from chattel slave to economic peon.

Suggested Readings:

[*1] W.E.B. DuBois, Souls of Black Folk, Chapter VIII. "Of the Quest of the Golden Fleece", pages 301-320. DuBois describes conditions of Negro farm workers in Daugherty County Georgia.

Landowners, Freeholders = 6% of population

Renters for fixed money = 5%

Laborers for fixed wages = 18%
(Supplies from owner)

Laborers paid monthly or yearly = 22%
(Supply themselves)

Metayers, work the land on their = 40%
own responsibility

Croppers and Paupers = 10%

[*2-3] Gilbert Osofsky (Ed), The Burden of Race, "The Convict-Lease System", pages 176-178. A Mississippi legislative committee reports on their investigation of a Mississippi convict-lease camp in 1887.

2. The Negro passed from freedom under the 13th and 14th Amendments back to slavery under the "Black Codes".

Suggested Readings:

[*4-5] Joanne Grant, Black Protest. "The Black Codes" Pages 148-154.

La."---all persons employed as laborers in agricultural pursuits shall be required, during the first ten days of January each year, to make contracts for labor for the then ensuing year, ---"

"--- he shall not be allowed to leave his place of employment until the fulfillment of his contract ---"

Miss. vagrancy law "all freed men; free negroes, and mulattoes"--- found "with no lawful employment" shall be fined up to fifty dollars"

3. The Negro lost the right to vote as the Fifteenth Amendment was superceded by state laws and state constitutional changes.

Suggested Reading:

[*6-7) Osofsky, "Disfranchisement of the Negro", pages 165-176.
Ben Tillman, "Can we not rise to the necessities of the occasion and put into this Constitution such an Article in reference to suffrage as will guarantee, as far as the law can guarantee, to future generations that they shall have the blessings of Anglo-Saxon civilization and liberty in this state?"

4. The Negro "progressed" from the freedmen's bureau schools to state schools, unequally financed, to the "Separate but Equal" status conferred by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Suggested Reading:

[*9] W.E.B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk, page 331.
"Of every five dollars spent for public education in the State of Georgia, the white schools get four dollars and the Negro one dollar; and even then the white public-school system, save in the cities, is bad and cries for reform."

[*9] Pages 234-235 describes Freedmen'sBureau schools

L. Fishel & B. Quarles, The Negro American.
"Separate but Equal", Pages 339-342.
Contains the text of the Plessy vs. Ferguson Case.

C. Vann Woodward, "The Birth of Jim Crow", American Heritage, April, 1964, pages 52 -
Tells the story of the background of the case, the attorneys, and the decision.

5. The Negro moved from "intimate" personal contact with the white planters to a situation of segregation.

Suggested Readings:

[*10] B.T. Washington, Up from Slavery, pages 35-40.
Describes the close relationship between slave and master.

[*11] W.E.B. DuBois, Souls, page 282, pages 322-323.
"One thing, however, seldom occurs: the best of the whites and the best of the Negroes almost never live in anything like close proximity".

[*12-13] W.E.B. DuBois, Souls, pages 333, 334.
Contrasts the intimacy of pre-war relationship between white and black with the "Color Line" drawn after the Civil War.

Joanne Grant, Black Protest, pages 163,164.
A Negro attorney describes segregated travel in 1883.

[*14] Fishel and Quarles, The Negro American, pages 390-393.
Attacks discrimination in the appointment of Negroes to civil service positions, 1913.

[*15-16] Fishel and Quarles, pages 399-401.
Treats discrimination in the Armed Forces, 1917.

6. Jobless and landless Negroes moved from the South to North and West.

Suggested Reading:

[*17-18] Fishel and Quarles, Pages 289-293.
The unexplained exodus of 1879.

[*19-20] M. Meltzer, In Their Own Words, Volume III, Pages 1-5.
"I Want to Get Out" - letters from Southern Negroes to the Chicago Defender.

Fishel and Quarles, Pages 394-399.
The wartime Negro exodus, 1917.

7. Negroes, who had often been skilled craftsmen as slaves, suffered in the competition with immigrant and with Northern union labor.

Suggested Readings:

B.T. Washington, Up from Slavery, pages 37-38.
"When freedom came, the slaves were almost as well fitted to begin life anew as the masters"

Fishel and Quarles, Pages 364-366.
"In a certain way every slave plantation in the south was an industrial school".

[*21] Fishel and Quarles, Pages 415-419.
A survey of 300 industrial plants employing Negroes. Negro relationship with the American Federation of Labor.

[*22] W.E.B. DuBois, Souls, pages 323-325.
Points out the effects of the new industrialization upon the Negro.

[*23-25] M. Meltzer, Volume III, Pages 8-14.
Richard Wright tells of his problems with whites working for a Mississippi Optical Company.

8. Terrorism, lynchings, and race riots increase from 1890 to 1910.

Suggested Readings:

[*26] Fishel and Quarles, pages 374-376.
A graph of known lychings, North and South, from 1890-1910.

[*27-29] M. Meltzer, In Their Own Words, Volume II, pages 156-161.
Excellent description of a race lynching in Cairo, Illinois, 1910.

Fishel and Quarles, pages 427-432.
The Congressional debate and failure of the anti-lynching bill.

F.L. Broderick and A. Meier, Negro Protest Thought, pages 24-25.
Boycotts against street car segregation.

Fishel and Quarles, pages 376-378.
A riot in Springfield, Illinois in 1908.

[*30-31] Fishel and Quarles, pages 412-415.
An investigating commission reports on the Chicago race riot of 1919, 38 dead, 537 injured.

9. The racism of slavery days continues redefined after 1876.

Suggested Readings:

[*32-33] Fishel and Quarles, pages 378-382.
Senator James K. Vardman, Miss., "I do not think it was ever intended by the Creator that the two races should live together upon equal terms - "

[*34-35] G. Osofsky, The Burden of Race. pages 184-191.
The Negro is an ape.
"--- the greatest calamity of all would be the corruption of our national character by the assimilation of the Negro race."

B. From what backgrounds did Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois, the two most prominent Negro leaders of the early 1900's, come? How did their view of and techniques for dealing with the problems of their race reflect their earlier environment?

1. The life of Booker T. Washington.

Suggested Readings:

Booker T. Washington. Up from Slavery.

[*36-39] John Hope Franklin, Three Negro Classics, Introduction, pages ix - xiii.

E. L. Thornbrough (Ed). Booker T. Washington.

a. born a slave in Virginia, 1857 or 1858
b. sired by a white planter who was never known by Booker T. Washington.
c. lived all his life in the South - Virginia, West Virginia, Alabama.
d. consistently accommodated his views and actions to conform with his white benefactors
e. preservered in working his way into and through Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.
f. founded Tuskegee Institute in 1881 with no land, no buildings and a state grant of $2,000 for teachers.
g. built a following among nearby souther whites.
h. successfully solicited funds from Northern businessmen and industrialists like Carnegie and Huntington.

i. became an advisor to Presidents Roosevelt and Taft.
j. delivered a nationally successful speech at the Atlanta Exposition, 1895.

2. The Life of William E. B. DuBois

Suggested Readings:

Elliott M. Rudwick, W.E.B. DuBois: Propagandist of the Negro Protest.

Francis L. Broderick, W.E.B. DuBois.

W.E.B. DuBois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois.

[*36-39] John Hope Franklin, Three Negro Classics, Introduction, pages *i, to *v.

a. born free in Great Barrington, Mass. in 1868.
b. born a mulatto of French, Dutch and Negro ancestry.
c. traveled all over the United States and the World.
d. studied undergraduate program at Fisk University in Tennessee; received Ph. D. from Harvard, studied also two years in Germany.
e. taught at Wilberforce and at Atlanta Universities.
f. helped found the N.A.A.C.P. and was editor of its magazine The Crisis for 23 years.
g. initiated four Pan-African Congresses after World War One.
h. wrote several books including works on the African slave trade, Black Reconstruction, Souls of Black Folk.
i. published sociological studies concerning Negroes of the South.
j. became a member of the Communist Party after World War Two.
k. moved to Africa and renounced his United States citizenship, 1962.

C. What positions were taken by Booker T. Washington regarding the problems facing Negro-Americans at the turn of the century and what methods did he employ to attack these problems?

1. In the Atlanta Exposition Address of 1895, Washington set forth a program from which, outwardly at least, he seldom deviated.

Suggested sources of this Address:

Fishel and Quarles, pages 342-345.

[*40-42] Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery, pages 146-150.

G. Osofsky, pages 209-214.

(1) "Cast down your buckets where you are", called for Negro cooperation with the Southern whites and for the use of Negro rather than immigrant labor.
(2) "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly".
(3) Southern Negroes and whites should integrate on economic matters, but be "as separate as the fingers" on social matters.
(4) Negroes should begin at the bottom with the labor of the hands. Industrial education is most important.

2. In an address to the National Education Association, 1884 Washington set forth his beliefs regarding industrial education: first- mental training, second- furnish labor valuable to the school, third- teach the dignity of labor.

Suggested Source:

Hugh Hawkins (Ed), Booker T. Washington and His Critics. Pages 5-10.

3. Did Washington's program and methods hamper Negro progress toward equal social and political rights?

Suggested Readings:

Hugh Hawkins, pages 78-85 article by Samuel Spencer Jr. Describes Washington's covert efforts through letters, influence on the press, and influence upon political appointments.

Hugh Hawkins, Pages 106-110 article by Samuel Spencer Jr. Notes that Washington's position on civil rights grew stronger in his later years.

Hugh Hawkins, Pages 59-67 article by E.J. Scott and L. B. Stowe.
Gives examples of Washington's opposition to lynching, disfranchisement and "Jim Crowism".

Jacqueline James, American Heritage, August, 1968, Pages 51-,
This article is similar to the Spencer and the Scott and Stowe article, but perhaps more interesting to high school students.

D. What positions were taken by W.E.B. DuBois regarding the problems facing Negro Americans at the turn of the century and during the first half of the twentieth century? What methods were used by DuBois?

Suggested Readings:

W.E.B. DuBois, Souls of Black Folk, pages 240-252.
This chapter states that Washington was not the chosen leader of his people and criticizes Washington for his failure to take strong positions on political and civil rights questions.

[*43-44] Fishel and Quarles, pages 367-369.
This is DuBois' fames "Talented Tenth" essay.
"The Negro race, like all other races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men."
Training of teachers must come before industrial training.

E.M. Rudwick, W.E.B. DuBois, Propagandist of the Negro Protest, pages 39-53
Tells of DuBois use of Social science studies to try to demonstrate the needs of Southern Negroes, while at Atlanta University.

Fishel and Quarles, pages 372-374.
Describes the Niagara Movement and the formation of the N.A.A.C.P., both founded by DuBois.
"We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults."

F. Broderick and A. Meier, Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, pages 52-54
"... work not for wealth but for weal - here lies our goal. This goal the Socialists with all their extravagance and occasiona' foolishness have more stoutly followed than any other class and thus far we must follow them."
DuBois agress with much of the socialist platform.

E.M. Rudwick, pages 208-235.
Describes DuBois organizing of four Pan-African Congresses in the years after World War One.

F. Broderick, W.E.B. DuBois, pages 211-226.
Tells of DuBois turn to communism after 1942 and of his move to Africa and revocation of United States citizenship. (Similar accounts can be found in his autobiography and in Rudwick's biography.

E. How did Black and White Americans, contemporary and later, react to the programs and methods of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois?

In addition to DuBois' already cited criticism see the following readings on Washington:

[*49-50] Broderick and Meier, Pages 25-30.
Monroe Trotter, Black editor, offers a scathing criticism of Washington, "it occurs to none that silence is tantamount to being virtually an accomplice in the reasonable act of this Benedict Arnold of the Negro race."

Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery, page 151.
President Cleveland, "Your words cannot fail to delight and encourage all who wish well for your race".

H. Hawkins, pages 21-26, article by R.W. Logan.
Shows that the press in all sections of the nation strongly approved Washington's Atlanta Compromise program.

H. Hawkins, pages 49-54, article by Kelly Wright.
Contrasts the positions and the eras of Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington. An excellent outline of the changes in American society from 1865-1903, showing how Washington adapted his policy to these conditions.

H. Hawkins, pages 54-58, R.S. Baker article.

H. Hawkins, pages 66-77, H.M. Bond article.

These articles are both favorable to Washington as an important figure in raising the status of the Negro.

IV. Conclusion and Evaluation

The conclusions to be drawn from this unit should probably be left to the students. Perhaps the following questions could serve as guidelines.

1. After studying their home environments and their educational backgrounds, how do you account for the differences of method and position of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois?
   Why did the man most mistreated by and held back by the Whites become the least militant, while the youth most accepted by White society, became a most militant adult?

2. To what degree was each man accepted by Northern Whites, by Southern Whites, by Black leaders, and by Black common men? How do you account for this?

3. If Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois represent opposite poles in the Negro protests at the turn of the century, can you place Negro leaders of today at similar poles?
   Which of today's leaders seem most like Booker T.?
   Which seem most like DuBois?
   Which do not seem to fit?
   Why?

4. How do you rate the efforts of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois in their own times?
   How do you rate their efforts in light of today's situation?
   In what ways did each succeed?
   In what ways did each fail?

As an accompanying or concluding activity some (or all) students might enjoy reading Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man and comparing Ellison's picture of Booker T. (Dr. Bledsoe) with their own picture.

PAGE 19 IS NOT AVAILABLE
FOR FILMING AT THIS TIME